that these patriarchates are "autocephalous" and independent of each other. The so-called "Ecumenical" Patriarch of Istanbul has never been more than primus inter pares, and frequently not even that. Following this pattern, Orthodox Churches in Europe have developed autocephalous patriarchates following national lines.

The strength of the Middle East patriarchates was undermined under the Ottoman Turks who established a system (the Millet system) whereby the Christian communities were set apart as more or less autonomous theocratic units, somewhat analogous to the supposedly theocratic rule of the fellaw who was also the Caliph of Islam. At first, the Muslims, understandably enough, lumped all the Christians together and called them "Rums," after the Arabic name for the Byzantine (Eastern Roman) Empire (Hitti, 1951, p. 63). At present, the Lebanese Orthodox still call themselves Rums. However, this is often confused with "Roumi," the popular designation for the Maronites (because of their connection with the Roman Catholic Church). Consequently, the Orthodox often refer to themselves as "Umuhdoxiyy," a term which, like "Quntaruhuuki," does not tell easily all Arabic-speaking tongues.

Although it has an elaborate hierarchy of patriarchs and bishops, the Orthodox Church on the local level is notable for what might be called "independent congregationism." This is characteristic of the Jews and most Protestants, but it is in striking contrast to the authoritarian Roman Catholic organization. "Considered ecumenically, all orthodox churches represent free communities. Within the bounds of the ecumenical-orthodox rules of doctrine, regulation and cult, every separate orthodox church is free in its inner life and management" (Zenkov, 1930, p. 34).

What Zenkov says of the Church in general is certainly true of its Arab members among whom local particularism is a conspicuous trait. Tannous says that the church in the Arab village is identified with the village rather than with the outside hierarchy which, in its turn, has very little to do with the village. The priest is a village member, chosen by the villagers, and also his ordination is a left very much on his own. He takes an active part in village life, working his own land if he has any. He is usually married (Tannous, 1946, p. 141). Zenkov gives a similar picture of the orthodox priest in general, and he says that the "priestly service in no wise lifts them to a higher order, in which they are changed to another kind of persons, or into other kinds of beings who stand between the world of God and the world of men" (1930, p. 66). And again: "The priests have never been themselves an object of faith in the Orthodox Church" (ibid., p. 67).

Churches and Shrines. The church of Mar (Saint) Sabbia in Mtoqbi is a long, low structure with a flat, concrete roof, and an open belfry (very typical in style of Lebanese village churches). The altar occupies the northeast end. There are two doors in the west wall, one for men, the other for women. In each of the three free walls there is one very small window high up. The ceiling is a barrel vault, plastered, painted pale blue, and sprinkled with small gilt stars. At about eye-level,

position with respect to Moslem Lineages A and B, respectively, except that those distant themselves were built after the founding of the village—"at least two hundred years ago." However, there are two kinds of waqf. The more common is land (or other property) given to a religious institution when an fulfillment of a vow, and its contract is reserved for religious purposes. In other words, it is an endowment. There is another kind of waqf, also, however, and this is represented in Mazraf by Mar Jacks and its waqf. In this case the waqf is a sum of family trust. The contract of the land is reserved for the family as lineage (in Mazraf, A.III) which originally established it. Only when and if the lineage dies out is the property turned over to a religious institution. The Latin Diocese (A.II) [illegible] is credited with the formation of waqf, but actually the Byzantines had similar legal forms (Bonne, 1948, pp. 159-161). It happens that the present priest belongs to A.III, hence he would derive some income from Mar Jacks even if he were not the priest. He is also the custodian of the other waqf lands, and the income from them is his. The disposition of waqf income is not made in this way everywhere, but this arrangement makes a sizable contribution to the support of the priest and his family. In addition to being paid from the participating shares, the priest is also supposed to receive an annual contribution from each head of a household.

Some villages have religious schools attached to the church, but in Mazraf formal religious instruction is conducted by the priest particularly in the village school. For the most part the religious instruction of the children is left to their parents.

SCHOOLS

"Many village communities in Lebanon have what amounts to an approximately universal literacy" (Matthews and Akrawi, 1949, p. 497). Mazraf is certainly one of these, and its condition is due to a long-standing emphasis on education.

In the village itself there are two schools, the government school and the "national" school. The government school is part of the government educational system. Instruction is free, except that the students must provide their own books. There are about seventy students and two teachers, both, at the moment, members of the village (A.V and C.XII).

The Lebanese public school system is based on the French, but it is becoming more. There is a fairly good distribution of public elementary schools, like that in Mazraf, which offer a six-year program (recently shortened to five years) at the end of which the student receives a certificat. There are some public schools (mostly in large towns and cities) which carry the process about three years further, a brevet being granted at the end. The student who wishes to continue his education beyond the brevet must do so outside the public school system, and he has three courses to choose from (Matthews and Akrawi, 1949, pp. 431-44). He may choose

hold of the people in these villages....." (from an external Muslim report.)

With him, the oldest partner, went to the relative centre and requested them to reopen the school in Bikhsiramma, promising to pay for the education of their children. The head of the relative re-minded them of what they had done with the school two years previously. One of the elders retorted by reminding the missionary of what Christ said about forgiving one's brother seven times seventy! A new native teacher was appointed by the relatives, and the school was reopened in Bikhsiramma.

The above story was dealt upon with a view to highlighting forth several significant points. The first of these is to emphasize the fact that the hostile reaction of Bikhsiramma to the mission did not take any serious violent character. In other places, the mission suffered serious persecution. This may be explained by two factors, a local one and a general one. Locally, the Bikhsiramma people had always been accustomed to live side by side with another religious group, the Muslim minority. They had learned how to tolerate the existence of another sect. Consequently, the appearance of a third sect, although disturbing, was not as much as we'd was in the case of other religious groups to complete isolation. The second factor derives from the general character of the Greek Orthodox church. It must be remembered that the Greek Orthodox or Eastern church has always been considered hostile by the Catholic church, due to the split which occurred in the early days of the Christian church. Even then, the Greek Orthodox sect have considered themselves as more "progressive." Further, the Greek Orthodox in Lebanon have always mixed with the Muslims of the country, much more so than the Maronites who secluded themselves on the mountain heights. Consequently one would expect the Greek Orthodox group of Bikhsiramma to be more open and tolerant toward the new message of the Presbyterian Mission.

The second point to be emphasized refers to the manner in which the village elders reacted with the Bible and finally used a threat. They were [illegible] behavior, on the part of a key village group toward high church authorities. As far as could be ascertained, this was the first incident of its kind in the village, possibly the first in the whole district. It is indeed hard to evaluate the significance of such a move. One may see in

[illegible] A beginning of a movement that may be termed "progressive." On the other hand, we can see the dangers implied for village solidarity.

[illegible] A third significant point to observe is that a new type of conflict arose in the village, as a result of the school incident. It was conflict between two new groups—those who wanted to have a Protestant school in the village and those who opposed the idea. It was a division that cut across the family and church groups. It was also conflict between a traditional value and a new one—between the need for the preservation of church integrity and the need for education. All of this tended to shake the village equilibrium; all of a sudden new adjustments on the part of the people.

III

After the first Mission teacher left the village, the students, and the village people in general, were not idle by the desire for further education. Other mission teachers came to the village and gave additional impetus to their desire. At the same time the first emigrants began to return to the village and tell the people about the wonders of education in that "marvellous country of America." English was the language through which they could attain some status with the Americans people and many more of the gold in that country. They wanted their children to learn English and get an American type of education. The Syrian Protestant College at Beirut was beginning to flourish, and the road was now open for a village boy to become a doctor or a college teacher. All of this meant more cash incomes, and cash was becoming more and more the significant symbol of comfort and new forms of prestige. Village boys and girls began to come back from Tripoli with American high school certificates in their hands. They were "fully" educated and they could share in the establishment and running of an independent village school.

All of these factors combined to bring about the erection of the village school idea. In 1904, under the leadership of the Minister's early students and some industrial emigrants who had returned to the village, a fully representative society, the first in the history of the village, was formed and given the name of "Najm-al-Wataa"—the hope of the country—the country here meaning nothing more than the village. The sole aim of the society was to establish and run a school for the whole village community.

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17: Tennessee S, G-5 (ca. 1947-48)1949 MEI Lebanon MEI

off the mortgage or to reacquire the land sold. At present there are many among the old emigrants who refuse to sell the land they own back home, although they have lost the hope of ever returning to live there.

This attachment to the land and to the community life that has developed on it is one of the fundamentals of national existence. It contributes essential stability and continuity to national character, especially in times of crisis and change. There are, however, factors such as a faulty land-tenure system, lack of adequate credit facilities, and absentee landownership that have been threatening this basis of security in village life. Although most of the land in Lebanon is privately owned, held in fee simple either by the individual farmer or by the joint family group, in certain sections of the country, mostly outside the central mountain region, share cropping prevails. There is no doubt that this condition, associated in many cases with absentee ownership, has retarded agricultural development and resulted in an appreciably lower standard of living, especially in many of the villages of the Akkar plain and the Bikā' valley.

Religious experience is another outstanding feature in the life of the rural folk of Lebanon. They take their religious organization, Christian or Moslem, seriously. Like their land and their agricultural activity, it constitutes a major part of their existence. Religion is not confined to formal services at the church or the mosque. It is expressed in wholesome recreation that takes place in connection with various festivals honoring patron saints. The Arabic word for festival, *'id*, is the symbol of a rich cultural complex indicating joy, relaxation, sociability, and religious fervor. When the farmer refers to his land, crops, or animals, he invokes Allah's name and blessing. On certain occasions some of the season's produce is carried to the church to be blessed. The normal greeting between farmers at work is not "Good morning" or "Good evening," but rather "May Allah give you health and strength."

Furthermore, there is a striking identification of the religious organization with the local community. It is the people of the village who donate the land and erect the church or mosque building. The priest or imam is a member of the village, chosen

17: Tannous S, G-5 (rev. 1947-48)1949 MEJ Lebanon MEJ

by the people, and ordained by higher religious authorities. Through unspecified donations, members of the community meet his needs. In some cases, he does not even come to be an active farmer. A balance is established between the central religious organization of the country and the village church through respect for local autonomy.

Another pillar of life among the rural people of Lebanon is the family organization, which is characterized by three functional units or stages. The first of these is the primary biological unit, consisting of the married couple and their children. The second is a more comprehensive unit, known as the joint family, which consists of the grandparents at the head, their unmarried daughters, and the various families of their sons. At a certain point in its growth, this joint family breaks up into new units, resulting ultimately in the development of the largest family organization, the kinship group. Members of this group claim descent from the same ancestor and normally carry his name.

Evidences of the importance of the family organization are numerous and convincing. A village consists actually of a community of people held together to a large extent by blood ties, either through descent within the kinship group or through intermarriage between these units. Practically everybody is related directly or indirectly to everybody else. A strong sense of belonging and of solidarity develops as a result. Marriage, to a large extent, is a family affair, with emphasis upon the interests and welfare of the two family groups concerned. Children are usually named after ancestors or other relatives, thus emphasizing the blood tie. Land is normally held and operated jointly by various members of the unit. Loyalty to the family in times of crisis is binding; family honor and prestige must be upheld.

In their use of proverbs, expressing fundamental attitudes, the village folk frequently refer to this family relationship. "Blood can never turn into water." "A boy is two-thirds the image of his uncle." "Marry the daughter of a good family, though she be an old maid." "He who has no family backing has no backbone." These are but a few examples. Further evidence of the identification of the individual with the family group is supplied by the manner in which people are addressed or introduced.